Diet in Body Maintenance and Curing

261 262 753 Because food created fire, the daily diet could be a source of illness or a therapeutic means. Every food had known properties for heating or cooling, and for other effects as well. Guava fruit, alcohol, and turtle or cobra curry were heating. Eggs were cooling. Depending on the occasion, ice and iced concoctions were over-heating or over-cooling. They were always "dangerous during menstruation." Banana varied according to the variety: kluai hōm (fragrant banana) was undesirably cooling and caused either diarrhea or constipation (Hauck, 1959:27); kluai nam wā was less deleterious (salāeng) while kluai nam was good for the sick or for parturients (Boonlong).

252 262 [758] [846] Properties in food changed in cooking. Boiling made rice "ripe" (suk) and so available as nourishment (Anuman Rajadhon:77). Even the method of cooking varied the properties. For the sick and for parturients, the banana variety called kluai hak muk was good if baked, but not if cooked in syrup (Boonlong).

262 753 827 Some foods were "incompatible" with, and so aggravated, certain illnesses. Air-borne food in the form of smell was incompatible with, and compounded, a condition of wind excess. Death or blindness ensued. On the other hand, asafetida might be tied to the wrist of a new-born baby so that the smell, an established carminative, might cure the excess wind in his stomach manifested as flatulence.

262 [774] [782] Beneficial foods were encouraged. Of all these none surpassed rice, the main sustenance of the body, "the only true food" (Yong Chutima, in Hauck, 1959:27) and source of "strength" to the farmer. Rice was a safe food. It never disturbed elements. Eating rice, as compared with meat, had no overtone of taking life. One could eat one's fill without any sin. Most of all, rice nourished the human khwan, for each grain contained a part of the khwan of the divine Rice Mother. Furthermore, any food offered ritually to a spirit or to make merit acquired strengthening properties, and was afterwards given to priests, children, or to the sick.

[776] Foods with known dangers were avoided. "Kluai tānī banana, a variety full of seeds, was never eaten because it contained a female ghost (phī)." Jackfruit was avoided by lactating women as a direct source of wind-excess. Fruit in general was not dangerous but "did not give enough strength for a rice farmer. It was all right for an orchardist."

771
775 Man was higher on the scale than woman.[20] Progress toward
[562] Nipphan was not assured but had to be earned. With sinful behavior a person might be catapulted back to being a beast. He who stole would "be born and die 500 times before he could even grow up." Almost everyone had to be sent to purgatory
[776] where demons carried on tortures until he had suffered enough to be released for rebirth. The evil spirits (phī) that wandered frighteningly in Bang Chan were part of the legions whose job was to increase deserved suffering on this earth.

771 The people of Bang Chan felt they could discern even
782 of themselves who was meritful and who was not according to
828 human circumstances, constitution, and behavior. A meritorious person was healthy, happy, and successful in all undertakings. He enjoyed good health and long life, a kindly personality, many fine children, wealth, high status,
[775] intelligence, and luck. Astrologically, he was born on a day of good confluences, of gold and auspicious signs. He who lacked merit, because of sins committed perhaps many ages ago, was born on an unfortunate day. He suffered early death,
[753] deformities, unhappiness, poverty, and had a cruel nature. Illness, whether supernatural or natural, whether induced by wind or sorcery or what, struck as part of the suffering brought on by former sin. It was accepted in the conviction that whoever suffered had brought it on himself. When merit ran out, or when sin cancelled out and then exceeded one's merit, suffering and premature death occurred, despite all human efforts. Because of the prevalence of illness and of life's difficulties, major and minor, no one, no matter how outwardly fortunate and so evidently meritorious, had at this earthly level of existence enough merit to escape some suffering and frustration. By the same token, though, no person was without hope. By making merit or by suffering in this life, existence would be happier in the next. The making of merit was in the forefront of daily conscious effort and even conversations of the people of Bang Chan.

751
789 The long-range protection against all illness was to live virtuously and make merit. However, to guard against
[577] temporary supernatural intrusions, everyone possessed and usually wore Buddha lockets and other amulets. Some
[782] underwent tatooing, men having Cambodian or other figures,
[304] women, 2 small dots tatooed on the torso under the arm.

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20. Men had achieved greater "other-worldliness" while women were more bound by the phenomena of the flesh (cf. Kirsch, 1961).

Sometimes these aberrancies were viewed as desirable sources of supernatural power, but on other occasions, they were seen as a sign of demerit, caused embarrassment, and were suffocated at once (if alive), and buried.

If a woman died pregnant, her body was at once brought to the temple where the unborn child was removed surgically. The usual solacing sermon, rites "to lead the deceased to live in her right place in the next world," and cremation took place, with the fetus laid beside its mother so that it "would come out normally." The mother and child were separated to prevent a ghost which was double-powered. No prayers were chanted at home before exsection "lest they make the power of the spirit stronger." Moreover, any violent or premature death caused an angry ghost. The ghost of a premature child had a heavy load of sin, for its stay in purgatory, where sin was worked off, had been interrupted (Textor:262). An unscrupulous mɔ̄ was eager to get possession of any ghost for use in sorcery, and a double ghost was stronger than any other. Ghosts were obtained by plundering the mortuary chambers of the temple prior to cremation. By feeding (liang) it, a mɔ̄ controlled it. The ghost of a male infant was preferable because it was "stronger than that of a female." In the light of this situation, not only should the body of a pregnant woman never be left alone " so that no one can get at them (sic)," but a pregnant woman herself ought not to be alone.[26] The behavior towards the Rice Goddess, Mother Posop, who was "pregnant" when the grains in the stalk filled out, illuminated many of these attitudes: "Mae Posop feels weak, hungry, and uneasy. She is eager to taste sour and sweet foods. She is a woman and beautiful in her pregnancy." To allay her hunger the

845 847 845 766 [775] 845 775 754 775 843 782 [754] 843 782 776

26. In Cambodia, a pregnant woman might be murdered, even by her husband, so that the murderer might gain the malevolent power that possession of her now double soul would afford. (E.R.E. "Cambodia": p.159). This specific statement was not found in Bang Chan but might be part of the shadowy background to local reluctance to leave a pregnant woman alone.

[171]

843 farmers brought to the fields an offering of two kinds of
782 bananas (kluai hōm and kluai namwā), sugar cane, taro,
• 776 young coconut and cakes; and "fresh earth burned and offered with oranges and other kinds of fruit."[27] She was also given the things "dear to women": new clothing, perfume, face-powder, hair lotion and a mirror. In the
843 annual harvest ritual, when some woman (never a man)
776 escorted the Goddess from the field to the rice bin,
784 participation was forbidden to a pregnant woman because "the Goddess-Mother might be jealous of the woman's heightened beauty" and so be malevolent. Also, "being now emotionally weak and easily upset, a woman might be frightened by seeing the Goddess, who, after all, is close to being a spirit (phī)."

843 The prominence of food cravings in this traditional
262 description leads to a consideration of diet in pregnancy.

Diet in Pregnancy[28]

As long as everything went well, pregnant women "ate as usual." The underlying premise was that each woman early in childhood had established a regular diet suitable to her individual make-up of elements, and eliminated foods that because they did not agree with her or were disliked, were judged "not compatible." A woman could eat as usual because the ordinary daily foods, rice, coconut, etc., were "safe." The modifications introduced to beautify and protect the mother and baby were made on the basis of the properties and

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27. The goddess was following traditional "defeated by one's pregnancy" (phaethōng [Mc.F: 599]) symptoms of desiring "sour, salty, or strange things such as burnt earth." Like any woman, her craving for sweets indicated that a heavenly creature was to be born; for fruits, that she would bring forth an animal; for burnt earth, that the god Brahma would be born (Anuman Rajadhon 1961:115-116).

[114] 28. This section does not purport to present a dietary study in modern nutritional terms. Hauck's study (1959) of maternal and child health gives information on foods eaten, craved, disliked, or viewed as "good for" or "not good for" women during child-bearing, and also on illnesses found among pregnant women, including beri-beri, nausea, cramps, and fainting. The data here add to her information on behavior and stress traditional views as to the purpose of the dietary injunctions.

Now that the fire was going nicely and Dūan was "ready to warm her body," the all-important prayer and incantation "to control the hotness and poison" of the fire had to be pronounced lest the mother's body be "swollen or burned." Sāi took raw rice, salt, and alcoholic liquor[36] in her mouth, chewed them, and sprayed them over the fire and over Dūan's body three times, saying "Spirit of the Fire and Wind, may both mother and baby be cool and happy!" and murmuring her secret formula with ancient Pali words about "great fire" and "death."[37] With the shoulder cloth (sabaichiang) that she always wore to the temple draped diagonally over her left shoulder and under her right arm, Dūan knelt and faced the fire. Praying for happiness to the Mothers of the Fire, Fire-floor, and Wind, and finally to the Lord Buddha, the Holy Brotherhood of Priests, and the Sacred Law, she bowed, hands clasped, and touched the floor three times with her forehead. Then she rose and lay down on the plank with the holy fire on her right side.

As Dūan was resting quietly, Sāi made three "taping fruits" (lūk prakhop), balls of tamarind leaves, phlai, and salt wrapped in cloth. One was put well up between Dūan's legs to cure the birth wound (phlāe). The other two were set aside for use on subsequent days. Sāi painted the baby's tongue with alcoholic medicine, and from her fingers dropped a little honey and boiled water into his mouth. Then she laid him on his tray on the floor close by Dūan, on the side away from the fire.

With satisfaction of a job well done, Sāi and Lek sat together for a quiet chew of betel. "Lek," said Sāi, "has it occurred to you on what a good day this boy has been born? It is a Saturday, so he will have power. Nothing, nobody, can hurt him! Once I delivered a boy on that best

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36. Alcohol was heating; rice, strengthening. Salt appears to be drying.

37. The deities addressed were māe phra phlōeng and māe phra phai. Another Pali-Thai magic formula to control fire was: "Phra Mōk Khan Lā Nō will extinguish the fire from hell, na mō phut tha ya." Phra Mogdallana, one of the two most faithful disciples of Buddha, caused the fires of hell to go out (cf. Anuman Rajadhon 1961:137). The na mō...etc. was a traditional phrase to prevent spiritual dangers and is a repetition of the names of the Buddha in five incarnations, past and future (cf. Textor 1960:483-485).

called out "Mine!" ("khǭng chan" [female speaking] or "phom" [male speaking]). Never did a parent say "ours!"[44] Sometimes the mother might ask a relative or friend present to claim the child, and so become a godparent.

As the first human step to control the volatile khwan, the first objective of winnowing a baby was to seize it (kan rap khwan) and so "complete" the child's person.[45] By tying holy thread at the wrist and ankle soul-exits, the khwan which had flitted in and out of the womb was given root. It was still flighty, but now it had a life-long home.

Secondly, the child was given membership in a human family. Connection through blood and semen did not establish kinship. At first, the child hovered between corporeal and non-corporeal existence. "The child is not fully human for the first 3 days." This period was under the supernatural control of Mother Sǭ, for babies "never died during the first 3 days after birth. They might be born dead or they died 6 or 7 days later." The shock of dropping the child on the tray "made him forget his life as a spirit." When someone cried "mine!" the child finally cut his relationship with the spirit-world. As an old woman explained, "The ties are the important part [of the ceremony]. They show that the child belongs to someone. Once a tie fell off one wrist. The child cried and cried until it was restored," fearing its lost khwan would attach itself elsewhere. The claiming set up kinship as a contract before witnesses. Whoever announced responsibility for the child's care, and this was usually the mother, deserved reciprocal care in old age. Other relatives would also help to bring him through to maturity. He would not be so frightened of an evil spirit because of family support, nor of the "ghost of an ancestor" who would be recognized as a relative.

Third, the ceremony strengthened the child. By giving him through the ties a stable khwan, he "grew better, cried less, and did not get sick."

The incorporation of as many auspicious elements as possible into the ritual was customary. Since the child took

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44. A winnowing tray (basket) had the capacity to "trap" spirits. It could seize or trap not only the khwan soul, but, at New Year's, one of the fun ghosts (Textor:371).

45. There is no convenient way of expressing "ours" in Thai in this restricted sense (id.).

Even after the child was out, the pile of wood was still a drying womb to be treated carefully. It was also the wood for a consecrated fire. To drop a piece of this wood carelessly both injured and desecrated. If this happened a disease of the eyes "sang," came at once for which no male medical powers had any remedy. The only cure was in women's hands, that essence of maternity, "a drop of mother's milk--any mother's." The larger implications of this linking of fire and maternity are dealt with in the next section.

846 789 372 [753] [755]

The Fire of Maturity

In the events surrounding the birth of the child, the significant step for the woman personally was the post-partum rest period by the fire (yū fai). Far more was at stake than just drying the uterus. The fire rest was one of the series of rites of the life-cycle which marked the course of an individual from birth to death. The others were the cutting of the umbilical cord, first head shaving, top-knot tonsure, ordination (for men), marriage, and cremation. Through the consecrated fire a woman formally achieved full maturity: she became suk (cooked, ripe, mature). Maturity did not come just by bearing a child. The fire brought about the transformation.[46]

846 372 [885]

How was mature womanhood viewed? What was the essential female role and office? Bang Chan saw a woman as one who "feeds and lengthens lives." As the custodian of growth she was, first, the guardian of the vital, essential khwan soul, and especially of the immature, flighty khwan of growing persons.

562 [774]

Secondly, a woman was a donor of nourishment (liang).[47] Her primary responsibility was to nurture children and other tender beings. She nourished the fetus with her blood. After

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46. "The fiery element digests what is eaten or drunk...and cooks the body and gives it its beauty of complexion. And the body thus cooked is kept free from decay" (Warren:157-158).

47. All the deities "concerned with the welfare of our bodies and our khwan" were maternal (mae), e.g. Rice, Water, Earth, "Mother-Goddess" (Mae Sū), and several Mother-Princesses (Chao Mae). Fire, and maybe wind, were both female (mae) and male (phra) (Textor:485). To these deities, "higher" than ordinary spirits, Bang Chan "owed more."

[776]

Only when the youngster was satiated did she gobble the remainder.[50] Parents often commented that girls in general were obedient and good, but boys were not. Everyone spoke, however, of exceptions. The capacity to play the female role grew with the child. It was not completed with the physiological maturity of first menstruation but only with ritual maturity.

The rituals to fit a woman for her office, described as "directly related to the welfare of the child," had 4 specific purposes. They perfected her as a compassionate being; restored and strengthened her body; improved her capacities as a nourisher; and strengthened her own khwan. The key to each of these aims was the holy fire.[51] Because actions taken by the fire were immediately and permanently effective, every effort was made to induce auspicious happenings. Words spoken by the fire had compelling effect so even ordinary speech became magical. Speaking of the fire's hotness so raised its heat that a mother was burned. For this reason, uninformed or careless visitors like children or foreigners were a danger.

According to Buddhist thinking, suffering developed compassion. Through the discomfort of pregnancy, followed by the anguish of childbirth and the heat of the fire, a woman became compassionate and so achieved the guide-line for moral behavior. Then a woman was sure to be touched with pity for the younger or less fortunate. One teacher despite the inconvenience went home twice a day from school to nurse her new baby because she "pitied" him too much to hire a wet-nurse. It was "pitiful" to see a child at another woman's breast for it implied that its mother was either unwilling or unable to nurse it. Thus, babies were rarely nursed by others than their own mothers.

The fire also strengthened a woman by ridding her of bad blood and foul fluids. Wind and fire, the 2 spirit guardians of the elements necessary to the occasion, were invoked to assist in the drying of the uterus. In addition, strengthening

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50. Boys too fed their younger siblings but their purpose was a power-play: "to assure obedience in the future" (cf. Hanks and Phillips:648).

51. This fire was kept entirely separate from the one for cooking and boiling of water. It was ritually lit and ritually extinguished at the end of the fire-rest.

In addition, strengthening foods like rice and fish, the staples for stout farmers, were stressed. Fruit, "which gave no strength," and vegetables (except for the nursing curry mentioned below) were avoided.

The holy fire also transformed a woman into a better nourisher. It gave her new, lasting beneficial nursing habits. As one man explained, "the very nature of water is changed by boiling over a fire. It becomes suk (ripe)." Similarly, a woman's body, her very nature, was permanently changed to suk by the fire's heating. The fire, in fact, made suk all the food she ate beside it. Since this food was turned into milk, her breast milk became suk and so more nourishing, and did not disturb elements.[52] "Food eaten while lying by the fire, when eaten later on (during lactation) by the mother, does not cause diarrhea in the baby." Jackfruit ordinarily caused wind-trouble during lactation, but one woman ate it during the fire-rest, and at once "got used to it, so she could eat it all the time." To make themselves better nourishers, some women spoke of the desirability of "eating a bit of every kind of food." The "nursing curry" (kaeng liang) was a mixture of vegetables.

Finally, the consecrated fire strengthened a woman's own khwan. She could better withstand convulsion if attacked by a spirit.[53] She was able thereby to handle a khwan even without the special magic that existed for it.

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52. To be nourishing even the daily rice had to be made suk by boiling (Anuman Rajadhon:77). It may be that no food was considered nourishing unless suk, either naturally (like ripe fruit) or by cooking.

53. "...when 'involuntarily' entered by ghosts...maidens in the 17-25 age bracket tend to convulse more violently than do women of more advanced years"(Textor:406). "Maidens" were presumably not married and so not suk.

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156 (riak khwan). Theirs was an augmented personal potency[55] in nurture not unlike the mana so widespread in the Asian-Pacific area.[56] The best midwives were liang dī, though not all liang
[159] dī were midwives. This societal peak was not an unattainable ideal. In the community, certain women were pointed out as liang dī and some of them recognized in themselves the validity of this title.

562 The association of rice, motherhood, and khwan now stands
774 clear. Rice made suk by cooking over a fire, was the essential
776 food not only for the body but for the khwan. Growth and life
262 depended on the nourished khwan. Rice came from a maternal figure, the Rice Goddess, Mae Phosop (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1960). Human mothers, too, when made suk, gave suk nourishment: the milk of the breast was merely transformed rice. Whenever rice was eaten throughout human adulthood, the Rice Mother continued her nourishment, for in each grain was a bit of her khwan, nourishing to the human khwan. The rice-bowl and ladle, used in many a ceremony, stood for the maternal care given a human khwan, and by extension, personal care throughout life. Whenever the rice bowl with offerings (khwan khao: soul-[of]-rice)
[182] was presented by a parturient or by a sick person, loving care comparable to maternal care was being requested.

182 The idea of re-birth, of a fresh start within the pure
885 area encircled by the holy cord, with auspicious words and
846 consecrated fire, was deep in every life-cycle rite. The
562 particular circumstance of the fire of parturition was a
372 forthright cooking to bring out and increase a woman's essential femaleness, to transform her from a youthful, partial giver into a complete, mature donor of nourishment. Such was the satisfaction of women in this female role that many said they would like to be reborn as women. Few wanted

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55. Anuman Rajadhon (p. 134) reports that in India a newborn girl needed no ritual paraphernalia to keep away spirits because "her sex...is a protection in itself, and spirits cannot come to bother her." This was close to Bang Chan's idea of female potency.

56. Cf. "Mana" (E.R.E. VIII:375) for a quick run-down on a definition of mana.

562 789 [754] [787] love philters, and they might be "sealed up" in childbirth or attacked by khun, their capacities to "liang" were inalienable. If any woman tried to tamper with men's magic, a severe sanction fell on her. She became the host of the phī krasū who lived from faeces like a dog.[59] On the other hand in a legendary case a man who tried to perform one of the women's rites to the Rice Mother was destroyed.[60] Furthermore, the Buddhist sanction of sinfulness fell on any man using magic for evil purposes.

562 791 [755] [793] The single channel where women might operate in the men's field of curing, power, clairvoyance, etc. was as a medium (khon song), through possession by a spirit. If possessed by a male mō, she could do everything a mō could do. Men were never mediums. Bang Chan's only medium was possessed by a male mō.[61] During seances she talked and sat like a man, and gave out cures and advice to an eager clientele. Only while wearing the yellow robe of an ordained priest did a man enjoy a generalized eufunction comparable to a woman's nurturing capacity. His powers in many respects were far greater than hers, but limited in her speical province.

[832] [156] [688] [626] [593]

59. My finding is based on Textor's interesting facts (pp. 305-330). He described the hosts of phī krasū as married women ("never a maiden") in their 30's or 40's, who were "invariably" trying to learn love magic. Such women were, however, violating their sexual function as nurturant and worse, their status as "suk" women, ritually established by the holy fire! Ostracism by the community, implemented by fear of contagion through spittle, lasted even unto the deathbed. The phī krasū's daughter alone was immune while giving the devoted care which was every mother's due in her old age, for Bang Chan desired no alienation of this filial duty even out of fear of the terrible sanction on the mother.

[539] [776] 60. The legend ran that once a man instead of a woman went into the rice field to perform the ritual inviting of the Rice Goddess to stay there and be cared for with food and offerings during her pregnancy. The goddess he met was not an immature and tender child-like spirit, but the adult, pregnant being who was powerful, flirtatious, and frightening. Dazzled by her beauty he fell in love with her, and ran away with her, vanishing forever. The goddess, affronted because an improper person arrived to deal with her, destroyed him.

[825] [787] 61. In Bangkok, monkey, cats, or spirits may also possess women.

Chapter VI

MIDWIFE AND MŌ

759 In Bang Chan it was easy to ask, "Who has delivered babies?" The answer would run into dozens of names. To respond to "Who are the midwives?" an informant would give the names of 6 or 8 persons, then add, "Some people call them professional midwives but some do not. X is not a midwife but she knows how. Y delivers babies, but only out of pity. Z has delivered 30 babies or more, but she is not a midwife." If asked, "Are there doctors among those who deliver babies? " he would say, "Mō (doctors) never deliver babies."

Before a definition of a midwife is given, a general picture of midwifery in Bang Chan is needed.

844 ### The Practice of Midwifery

Normal childbirth, a cooperative venture between mother and child, was not an illness. It called only for the help of kin or neighbors. Anyone who had seen or experienced childbirth at least once before was considered a possible, though not necessarily competent, "deliverer" of a child. [593] The husband was supposed to be present to assist; failing whom a father or brother should attend. Consequently a good many men had witnessed birth. The spectacle was disliked, however. Anyone, though, young or old, male or female, kin or not, might offer or be asked to help. Private magic was • [776] not essential, though it was necessary for someone with incense, flowers, and a candle in hand to inform (bōk), the Lord Buddha, the ancestors, and the ordinary protective spirits of the land and home and so enlist their help. The customary post-partum rituals and blessings were not esoteric. Enough popular astrological knowledge was known, or quickly and freely available from a priest at the temple, to orient the woman in labor. Consequently, many a woman was delivered by her mother or other kin. One poor farmer and masseur, with the assistance of his sister, delivered all but one of his own children. On another occasion, a visiting kinsman, by chance a medical orderly in the Royal Thai [759] Navy, safely delivered a relative. In all these cases the cost or "gift" was less, or non-existent, and the convenience

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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114 * 156 171 571 status differences and the looseness of social ties loom considerably in Bang Chan probably makes for some other structural variations.[22] However, as stated below, Foster's formulation applies almost perfectly to Bang Chan (1173–1176):

> The model appears to account for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status, between people of different statuses, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings as well. Although my analysis deals only with Tzintzuntzan, I think the model will prove useful for other societies with similar structural features . . .
>
> Briefly it is hypothesized that every adult organizes his social contacts . . . by means of a special form of contractual relationship. These contracts are informal, or implicit, since they lack ritual or legal basis. [This is not completely true for Bang Chan. There is, for example, a special "Teachers' Day," sanctioned by the national government, set aside for honoring teachers, and thus providing ritualistic reinforcement to the contract.] They are not based on any idea of law, and they are unenforceable through authority; *they exist only at the pleasure of the contractants.* The contracts are dyadic in that they occur only between two people; three or more individuals are not brought together. The contracts are noncorporate, since social units such as villages, *barrios,* or extended families cannot truly be said to enter contractual relations with other families, although spouses often honor the obligations inherent in each other's contracts.
>
> The implicit dyadic contract is made between members of a family as close as siblings [and in Bang Chan, as close as husband and wife, and parents and children] . . . ; and it unites neighbors and friends. Contracts are found between social and economic equals within Tzintzuntzan or with similar people in other communities. And they are found between people (or beings) of different status and category, as on those few occasions when outside political leaders or economic patrons have ties with villagers and when a villager invokes the aid of the Virgin Mary or a saint. [In Bang Chan, a functional equivalent of the latter would be when villagers propitiate the *caw,* or Spirit Lord, who resides in the *San Phra Phuum,* or house of the Guardian Spirit of the home. This is a replica of a house, about the size of a bird cage, located in every house lot in Bang Chan. The offering of rice and flowers to the *caw* is explicitly a form of payment to him for the use

[776] [782] [778] [782]

[22] A second paper on Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1963) indicates that there are some crucial motivational differences as well, viz., Bang Chaners enter into dyadic contracts with a much greater sense of freedom than do Tzintzuntzeños. Their attitude is both more cavalier and cold-blooded than the Mexican peasant who feels that if he is to exist, he has no choice but to enter into these contracts. The Bang Chaner is animated by a sense of personal advantage; the Tzintzuntzeño by a sense of passive participation in a system he cannot change.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

last instance, we know that the fanciful fear often serves the vital function of binding what might otherwise be extremely painful free-floating anxiety.[6] We also know from American culture that there are many objective sources of threat existing in the environment which are rarely identified as objects of anxiety, unless directly or imminently encountered, *e.g.*, being struck by an automobile. Finally, we know that there are objects or sources of anxiety that may be denied as such because of the cultural values associated with being fearful or brave: it is possible for a teen-ager to admit anxiety over an examination or an important "date," but usually not when he is asked to perform a daring deed by a group of his peers.

The point of these remarks is that despite our familiarity with the various forms and functions of anxiety, we are still hard put in most instances to identify the precise psychodynamic role of an anxiety response when it is expressed by individuals in our own culture. The problem is compounded immeasurably when we attempt to do this with members of another culture. It is for this reason that the responses below will be accepted as those things which actually frighten or worry the villagers of Bang Chan, and will not be examined for any intrapsychic functions that they may serve. The few interpretive excursions of this type that we took earlier in the text (e.g., the villagers' concern about a superior feeding them well) were sanctioned principally by the context in which the responses were made. Here, informants are asked to indicate their anxieties under a completely unspecified set of conditions.

Actually, most of the responses given below are, in terms of the villagers' culturally constituted reality, of a highly reasonable nature, suggesting that informants are reacting in terms of their genuine existential concerns. Being bitten by a cobra is a dangerous (although not a likely) possibility, and although a few villagers may hesitate *on direct questioning* to declare their belief in malevolent spirits (translated below as "ghosts"), all know about such spirits and at one time or another have performed acts to propitiate them, indicating considerable psychic investment in their reality. Although in some cases one might wonder about the motivations behind them, the responses make complete sense.

The responses to the first item, "*He was most afraid of . . .*" fall into three major categories. The vast majority of villagers (61 percent) are frightened by experiences, actually *possibilities* (and again, in their unpredictable world, the possible is psychologically critical) which threaten

[6] The major analytic difference between *anxiety* and *fear* is, in fact, that the latter is "bound" anxiety, *i.e.*, the anxiety has assumed a concrete, objective representation which the individual at least can deal with: by avoidance, doing battle with it, laughing over it, and the like.